1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

482

1. Women return in the evening after the day's digging and gathering of wild roots and berries

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2. A husband, wife, and their son at their family fire cooking their supper of two wild roots which the wife brought. Her genital apron is a fine one ornamented with beads

[p. 348-A]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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5. The two wives of /Ti/kay sit at their family fire, /Naoka the elder sister to the left, /Nai the younger, with her son on her lap, to the right. Between them are Bau, /Naoka's daughter, already married for two years, and /Goishay, their old mother

6. /Nai, the young bride, the morning after the wedding. showing the design painted on her face by her mother with powdered red stone and fat

[p. 348-C]

1:Marshall E-5 (1952-1953) 1959 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

side. /Gunda sat behind the line of boys, in a deep shadow, to show that he was 159
' ashamed ' and respected (feared, *koa*) the wedding scherm. 585

One of the boys began to play, not their ceremonial music or special wedding music, but songs of the *//guashi*, as they call them, the little wordless melodies these [533] people compose about happenings in their lives, about pleasures or distress, about their moods. They play and sing these melodies for hours upon hours in the afternoons when they are resting or in the evenings by their fires, and they played for hours that night at the wedding fire.

Soon young guests began to arrive, the children of both werfs with whom /Nai played, all of them younger than the boys who attended /Gunda and the girls who carried /Nai. The youngest guest was the ubiquitous three-year-old boy who never missed anything. No adults came.

One boy brought four mangetti nuts with him and roasted, cracked, and ate them himself. That was all that appeared by way of a feast. Di/ai said that they would like to have given the children something to eat but there was nothing in the werf that night. Even though the others had had something to eat, the bride and groom would have had to abstain. They must not talk or eat, to show they are ' ashamed '. The young guests seemed to enjoy themselves, nevertheless, and were still singing and chatting when I left at midnight.

Soon after sunrise the following morning—/Gunda had already departed—/Nai's mother went to the wedding scherm and sat down beside the embers of the night's fire. /Nai stood shivering beside her in her little genital apron and the duiker skin [291] which women wear around their buttocks and up between their legs, but stripped of her kaross. The mother had brought a little fat (eland fat, if they had it, would be [825] used) and a bit of powdered red stone, one of the red earths (*/gam !gai gwoie*), mixed with fat. She rubbed /Nai all over with the fat, and drew a line on her forehead and [302] a circular design on her cheeks with the red powder mixed with fat. Over in werf 2, Gao, Nai's stepfather, presented /Gunda with a blanket.

This completed the wedding ceremony.

/Nai was a lively child who loved the dancing and singing games the girls play. 159
She often danced alone, tapping her bare feet on a stone in rapid rhythm or making a 462
game of printing a design in the sand with tiny steps. She liked babies and as often as not had her infant half-brother or some very small cousin tied to her back. That morning she appeared to turn into a housewife as though it were her next blithe step. When the women went to gather veldkos, she put on her own little duiker skin [222] kaross, took her digging-stick and went with them. At the end of the day, when they returned in the slanting sunset light, she had two big roots. She went straight to her own fire, blew on the embers, added wood, and sat down. Three ostrich egg shells [415] full of water and her digging-stick were her household goods. These she arranged beside the scherm. /Gunda came and sat down opposite her. She smiled at him and set the roots in the ashes to cook.

It has been said in talks with informants that the bridegroom must bring an 159
antelope which he himself has killed to the parents of the bride before the wedding, 183
but no animal had been brought; there had not been a scrap of meat in the werf for 585
days. I asked Di/ai about this. ' Oh, that,' she said in effect. ' Yes, he should give me an antelope, but we thought we would have the wedding first and that /Gunda would

/142 cont./

304 Also, in rare cases the labia minora are supposedly stretched by pulling them with the hand.

F. Clothing

291 The clothing of the Auin can be seen in Photographs 25 and 26.

Men's Clothing

a) Cap made of hide (jackal, jumping hare, Erdmännchen [field mouse?], cat).

a[1]) War cap made of the hide of the aardwolf (see also Photo. 21), only worn in war.

b) Loincloths, always made of ibex hide. A string runs from the loincloth back through the buttock crease and is fastened tightly to the hip band from which the loincloth is suspended in front. The entire contraption has somewhat the same effect as a suspensory in that the scrotum is raised somewhat (see Photos. 9-11).

c) Cloak, always made of ibex hide.

[415] d) Collecting bag, always made of ibex hide.

In addition, one often sees sandals made of the hide of a large antelope, or sandals for running (see Fig. 5). [Fig. 5 appears here.]

[293] Further, there is a kind of fan consisting of a jackal tail fastened to the end of a stick, as well as gaiters made of antelope skin. The latter are /143/ worn by men and women, particularly in thorny terrain. In shape they resemble the Greek greaves.

Women's Clothing (see Photos. 27 and 28)

a) Head ornament. On less festive occasions, a cap styled like the men's peace cap is often worn instead of the head ornament. Usually the head is uncovered on top.

b) Modesty apron. As can be seen in Photographs 12-to 14, this consists of a bundle of leather strips suspended from a string

[Text continues on page 19]

291

Fig. 5. Sandals

Fig. 5a Fig. 5b

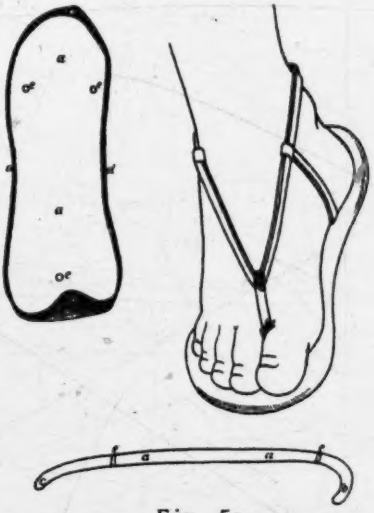

Fig. 5c

Fig. 5a. A sandal for running, viewed from below: a, flat part; b, tip bent under; c, back part bent under; d, edges bent under; e, holes for the thong fastenings.

Fig. 5b. Fastening of the sandal.

Fig. 5c. Side view of a sandal for running: a, flat part; b, tip; c, back; e, holes for the thongs.

The sandals for running are attached under the ball of the foot and in size exactly fit it. The entire sandal is bent downward in such a way that it increases the thrust of the body when the foot pushes in running. It is made of very hard gemsbok leather.

/143 cont./

291 around the hip. The modesty apron with ostrich egg shell ornaments shown in Photograph 12 on the woman farthest to the left is supposed to have been traded from Makoba [the Koba?]. I have never seen a back apron.

c) Cloak of duiker or ibex hide. This always covers the buttocks.

d) Collecting bag (like the men's bag).

f) Digging stick.

Children's Clothing (see Photo. 22)

Girls: modesty apron and cloak.

[415] Boys: loincloth and cloak. A collecting bag is carried by both boys and girls.

The children receive the loincloth or modesty apron when they are about five years old.

294 The articles of clothing are sewed. Holes are drilled with
[412] an iron awl, made of any little piece of iron picked up somewhere, or with a bone splinter. The sewing is done by drawing animal tendons through the holes.

123 When I photographed some Auin women in the nude (1), I had
834

1. I am fully aware that the following is not to be regarded as a "denial of the sense of shame." I have mentioned the matter here simply because I could not fit it in elsewhere.

to take care that all the Auin men, who incidentally, had given their consent, were removed. Several Whites and Herero, on the other hand, were allowed to remain.

G. Weapons (see Photos. 25 and 26)

411
[412] f) Digging stick, also used for beating and as a throwing club.

g) Bow and arrows.

h) Throwing lance.

Auen

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291
516
[415]

Auin from Olifantskluft. Photo. 1.

Photo. 3.

Photo. 5

Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

142
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301

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Age about 22 30 35 years

Photo. 8 [see Photo. 7]

≠Auin from Rietfontein (North).

Photo. 10 [see Photo. 9]

Photo. 12
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

Auen

142
291

Photo. 13
≠Auin from Rietfontein (North)

342

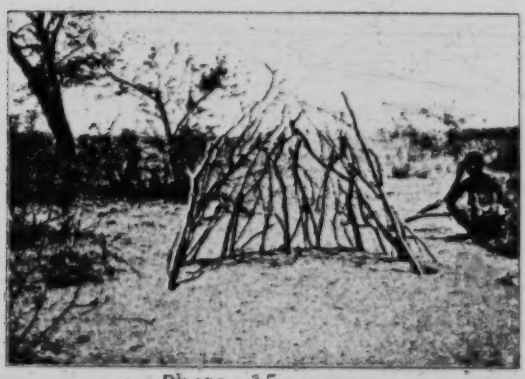

Photo. 15.
Framework of Windscreens.

Photo. 17.
Flimsy Wind-
screen in
the Dry
Season.

372 Auen

Photo. 19.
Manipulation of Device for Firemaking.

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Photo. 21.
War Cap and Peace Cap.

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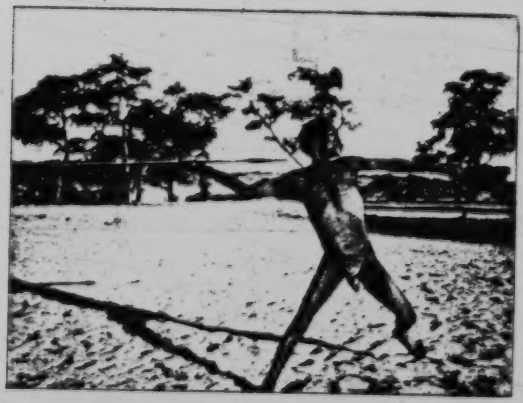

Photo. 23.
Throwing
Lance.

2: Kaufmann--67 G-5 (1908) 1910 FX10 Bushmen FX10

Auen

301

Photo. 20.
Chains of Ostrich Egg Shells as Ornaments.

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Photo. 22.
Children's Clothing.

222
412

Photo. 24.
Use of the Digging Stick (digging up veld food).

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411
412

Auen

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 25.

a through d, see p. 20; e, quiver; f, digging stick; g, bow; h, throwing lance; i, cover for the lance point.

291
301

Photo. 27.
Clothing and Equipment.

Auen

291
411
412

Clothing and Equipment.

Photo. 26 [see Photo. 25]

291
301

Photo. 28 [see Photo. 27] Clothing and Equipment.

[36 cont.]

Cooking and Cooking Utensils

354 Lumps of surface limestone are generally used as hearthstones.
412 Here and there, as a great rarity, one finds a pounding stone of quartzite.

To pound the veldkost, small mortars, carved out of wood, with conical or hemispherical bottoms are used. In case the mortars become damaged, holes are made on either side of the crack, and the flaw is drawn together with bast strips and also smeared over with resin. The shape of the pestle, which is from 50 centimeters to one meter long, is shown in Figure 7.

415 Originally these !Kung had no pots and probably had no
[352] way of boiling anything. The usual manner of preparing food even today is to roast and grill it on and between hot stones. Nowadays,
[439] every horde owns a number of pots acquired from the Okawango.
[482] These pots have bast or tendon plaiting around them, by which they are fastened when carried on the march. The Okawango people
[439] gladly exchange these water pots, which they have carried with them on the waterless stretch, for food from the Bushmen in the area between Karakowisa and Nuragas.

416 Small cast-iron tripods are a very popular article. A
417 longish, crudely carved stirring stick, as well as a piece of hardwood for arranging the fire, completes the inventory of the Bushman kitchen. Spoons are unknown.

Clothing

● 291 The clothing of the woman, as has already been repeatedly described, consists of a front apron and a back apron, made of soft leather, and a leather cloak something like a pelerine. Usually she also has a carrying hide for the baby. Generally, the child does
[854] not sit on her back, as among the Blacks, but on the side of her hip.
[415] In addition, the woman has the large veld bag in which she keeps the
[412] finds from her collecting. On the march, the woman is equipped with the simple digging stick, pointed at the bottom.

The men are clothed only with the modesty apron and in addition

[36 cont.]

291 wear the short hide pelerine with which they cover themselves when sleeping. In thorny terrain they frequently wear sandals made of eland leather, as well as leather leggings. Whereas the woman always go around bareheaded, the men frequently have some sort of head covering, sometimes round hide caps and sometimes pointed little hide hats and homemade straw hats. On the 293 upper arm they wear a tight fitting leather ring, to which is attached a small bag with the most important utensils, that is, tinder, pipe, tobacco, some money, and last but not least, within the police zone, the pass.

177 They do not want European blankets. They catch fire 291 too easily, become saturated with water during the rainy season, are more difficult to carry, and are a breeding place for lice. On the other hand, cotton cloth and shirts are very popular. My re- [123] search with a horde always ended with all the informants having [124] been supplied with ready-made clothing. On the first day, the informant receives a shirt, on the second, a colorful loincloth, then a head cloth, tinder, tobacco, some white money, and then he becomes ill and disappears, and another or others come to be supplied. [37] [Figs. 4-8 appear here.] [38] The possession of old pieces of uniforms is regarded as a sign of higher position. On the farms the women dress in Herero fashion as soon as they can: they wear the high turban and regard it as extremely unseemly to take it off. There is considerable demand for European shoes. The Bushmen fear nothing as much as injury to the soles of the feet by the long thorns. Like all peoples who now live in [412] the stage of a wood or bone culture, the Bushmen, too, possess [325] the three most important iron tools: the short ax, obtained in [439] trade from the Blacks; an awl; and a pocketknife. Very small children run about naked; later they are given a little apron that, [531] in the case of the girls, is often attractively adorned with bead embroidery. Extraordinary stress is put on ornamentation. Ostrich 301 egg beads hold first place in this respect. Individual !Kung are [321] masters at manufacturing them and achieve a certain affluence [556] by trading them. This work is done by the men. The beads are [462] strung in long chains on tendons or bast cords and are worn around [306] the neck. [Fig. 9 appears here.] Small chains consisting of [302] three or four links are tied to individual tufts of forehead hair to LENGTHEN THEM.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P.70]

[38 cont.]

Weapons

411 The Bushman's chief weapons are the bow and arrows. The bow staff as a rule has a round transverse incision and tapers off slightly toward both ends. The !Kung of the Otjimpolo Veld, on the other hand, use palm wood like the Ovambo. There the wood of the bow is slightly convex on the outside and flat on the inside with squared sides. The string is made of leather, so that in the case of these bows the bow staff is more flexible than the string. A bow of the Otjimpolo Bushmen was 115 centimeters long and 13 centimeters high. The bows of the !Kung discussed here also have leather supports on both sides and commonly are

[291]
[531]

Fig. 9. Embroidered Front Apron of Leather (!Kung).

reinforced with sisal cord. The bows of the Hei//om seem to be differentiated from those of the !Kung primarily in [39] that the bow staff is flat on the outside and convex on the inside. In lieu of the leather strips, reinforcements of palm bast are also often used. The string, depending on the region, is a waxed plant [283] fiber cord, animal tendon (kudu), or fine, twisted leather. The length is about 120 centimeters; the height, 20 centimeters. There are also much smaller bows, however, 95-110 centimeters long.

192 411 The wood of the !Kung bows is called !howa. The arrow is made of wood. The shaft is called //gau; the feathering,

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[76 cont.]

411 The little bow (!naru) is made from the //ne bush and is
[192] much shorter than that of the !Kung. The arrow and the arrow point are called tschi. They have arrows with iron points like the !Kung, as well as others made of bone. The accompanying figures show the two types, which have already been sufficiently described by other authors. The arrow points found in older collections, on which the poison is applied not only at the tip but also in lines or dots of little lumps on the contact piece, are now no longer in use. The bows of the Naron are also small, and they likewise have two kinds of arrows. The arrow shafts are made of reed, which is used only in a few places. In addition, all these tribes have root-stock clubs. Spears (kuku) are bartered
[431] from the Ovambo in exchange for ostrich egg beads. Bleek
231 writes [77] of the Naron that formerly they had no dogs at all, and Kaufmann reports that the ≠Auin have very few dogs. The Nogau had all kinds of mongrels, but none of any peculiar strain. Two animal stories should be told in this connection:

539 1. A large bird killed a duiker. Then the hyena came and took the duiker. The hyena met the jackal. The jackal said: "Hyena, you should not go where you want to go, otherwise bad things will happen to you!" But the hyena went anyway, and the great bird (!gui) came and tied the hyena's feet together and made a fire by its feet. Since then the hyena has black legs and dares not kill anything living. But the jackal also went stealing, whereupon the great bird seized him and held him with his back to the fire; since then it has a black stripe across its back.

2. The lion came to the watering place; then the frog came out of the water and mocked the lion. The latter wanted to kill the frog, but only scratched it on its back; the frog quickly jumped into the water again, but since then it has black stripes on its back. [Fig. 27 appears here.]

10. Clothing and Ornaments

291 The clothing of the man consists of the cap, made from the hide of the jackal, the jumping hare, or the duiker, and the loincloth, sandals, and the hide bag. In general the clothing of these Bushmen is not essentially different from that of the Bushmen

≠AUIN
NARON
NOGAU

[77 cont.]

291 [301] in the north, but they have far more ostrich egg pearls.

11. Weapons

The ≠Auin have the throwing lance; the digging stick is 411 occasionally also used for striking and as a throwing club. The [439] lance points are bartered from Ngami Lake. The upper end of the shaft is bound with a strip of antelope skin or tendons. The shaft tapers off toward the end. The lance points are distinguished as male and female. The male points have blunt barbs. The points are often provided with a leather cap. The lance points also serve as a knife and universal instrument. The spear points are kept well hidden. Among the Naron, spears 411 439 are very rare today; they are obtained from Ovamboland in exchange for chains of ostrich egg beads. The same is true of the Nogau, who, however, obtain their spear points in part from the Ovambo and in part from the Okawango by way of the !Kung.

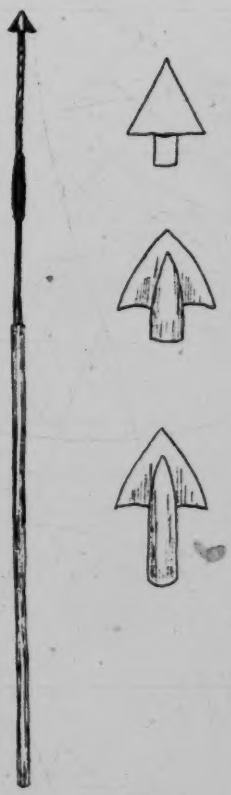

Fig. 27. Arrows of the Nogau.

The bow of the ≠Auin is small; 411 the string is twisted out of animal [283] tendons and is pushed up on one side and fastened on the other. The arrows are made of reed. At the bottom of the shaft there is a shallow notch, and the end is wound with grass. Similarly, we find a notch at the upper end where the point is inserted. The length of the arrow shaft is from 48 to 52 centimeters. The points are made either of iron or bone; in the latter case ostrich bones are used. The bone arrowhead is pointed at both ends, one of which is inserted

3: Lebzelter--161 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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Camp of the !Kung along the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

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The author Negotiating with !Kung Bushmen in the Otjimpolo Veld.

Plate III. !Kung

3: Lebzelter--163 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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[854]

Plate V. !Kung Bushmen from the Upper Omuramba u Ovambo.

3: Lebzelter--164 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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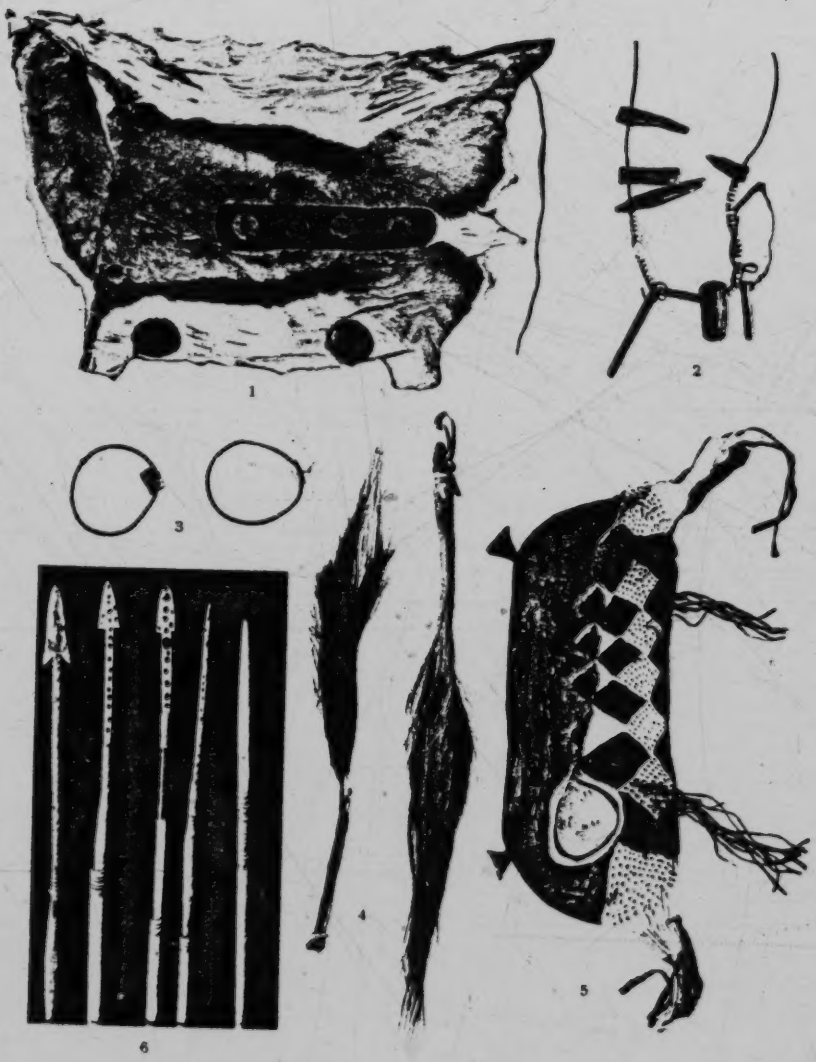

Plate VI

1. Back Apron (Betschuana), 2. Neck Band (Bushmen), 3. Grass Armbands, 4. Fly Swatters (!Kung), 5. Hide Sack (Kaunas Hottentot), (Museum for Ethnology, Berlin).

6. Bushman Arrows (Cape Province ?) (Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart).

3: Lebzelter--165 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10

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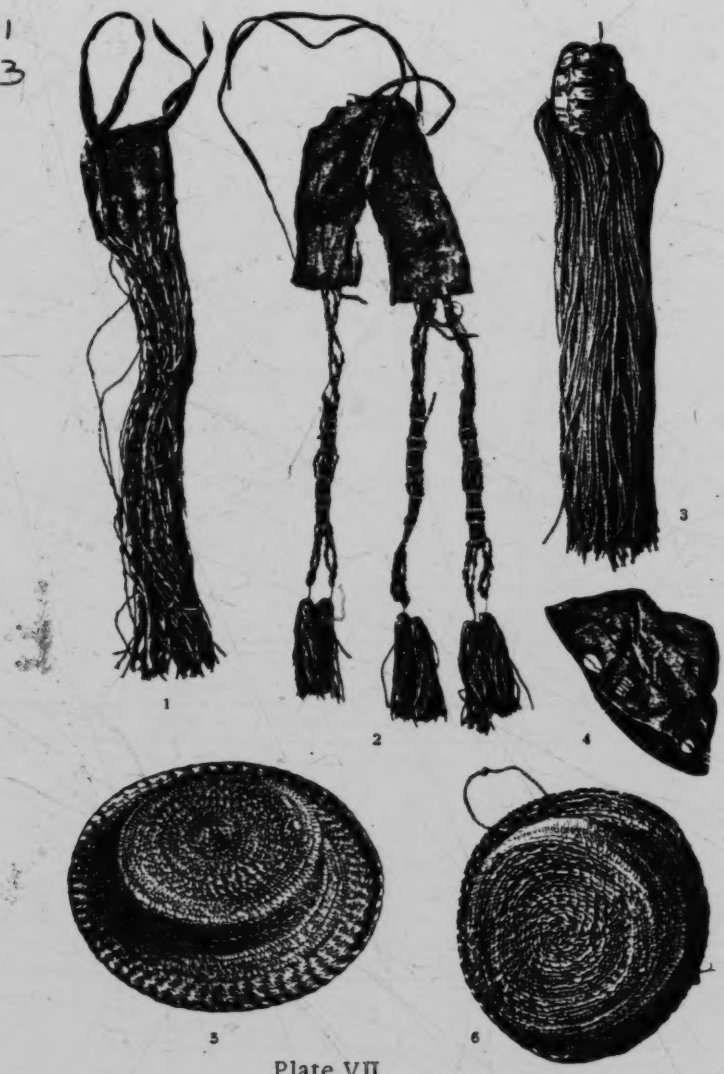

Plate VII

1. Apron for Little Girls (Nama and Hei//om)
2. Women's Apron (Region of Gobabis)
3. Perfume Box (Herero)
4-6. Bushman Caps and Straw Hats of the Bushmen (!Kung)
(1-4 and 6, Ethnology Museum, Berlin, 5. Lindenmuseum, Stuttgart)

3: Lebzelter--166 E-5 (1926-1928) 1934 FX10 Bushmen FX10
!KUNG

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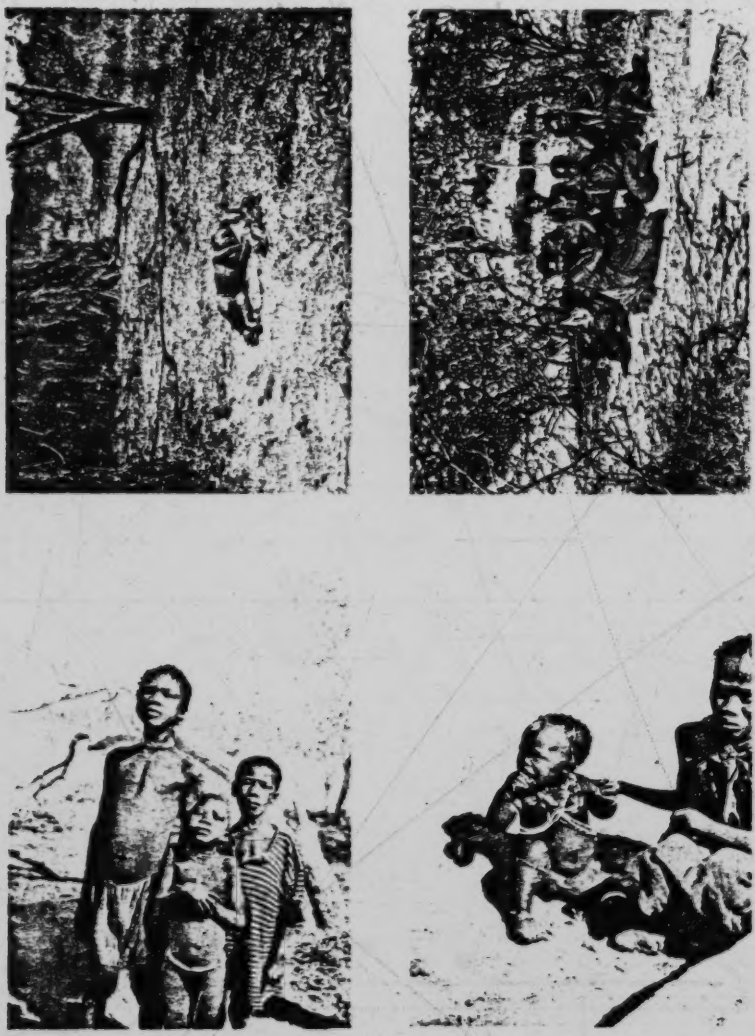

Plate VIII. Children of the !Kung Bushmen.

/241 cont./

128 Tables giving all the /242/ measurements for each individual, are attached, as are forms for the observations concerning the descriptive characteristics of the individuals measured.

141 The average values for the adults measured are as follows:

	Men	Women
1. Body height	155.3	149.7
2. Height of the chin above the ground	135.7	130.6

[142] [291] [301] [342] [516]

Fig. 1. Heikum Bushmen. Men.

3. Height of the navel above the ground	93.2	90.4
4. Height of the upper edge of the symphysis above the ground	82.2	79.6
/Fig. 1 appears here./		
5. Height of the acromion above the ground	130.5	124.9
6. Height of the elbow joint above the ground	99.9	96.5
7. Height of the projection of the radius above the ground	76.0	73.4

/243 cont./	FX10 Bushmen Heikum Men	FX10 Bushmen Heikum Women
28. Width between the inner corners of the eyes	3.6	3.5
29. Width of the mouth	4.7	4.5
30. Width between the two jaw angles	9.5	8.8
31. Distance from the chin to the root of the nose	9.8	9.6

[291]
[342]

Fig. 2. Heikum Bushmen. Women.

32. Distance from the chin to the hairline	16.6	15.9
33. Length of the nose	4.0	3.9
34. Width of the nose	4.1	3.8
/244/		
35. Distance from the chin to the tragus	13.3	12.3
36. Distance from the root of the nose to the tragus	11.7	11.3
37. Length of the thumb	5.1	5.1
38. Length of the middle finger	8.4	8.2
39. Width of the hand where the fingers join	6.8	6.5
40. Length of the foot	22.6	21.5

/247 cont./

144 conclusive evidence /248/ against any notion of racial kinship between the Bushmen and the Hottentot.

142 The arms are thin and not very muscular; the hands are small and very delicate. In contrast to the musculature of the arms, that of the legs is better developed. The arch of the foot is good; only in one case did I observe flat feet.

The big toe is pointed straight and shows neither a deviation

[291]
[301]
[516]

Fig. 3.

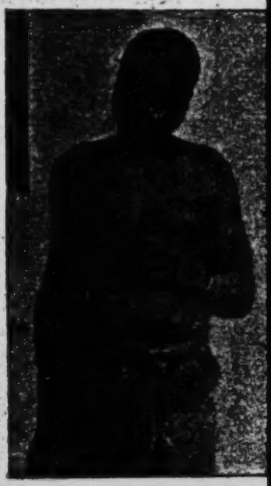

Fig. 4.

toward the median line of the foot nor one away from it.

In most cases the second toe extends farthest, but in two cases it was exceeded by the first toe. The second and first or second and third toe of some of the others examined extended the same distance. The following table gives more exact information on this matter:

/254 cont./

262 824 [252] is a tuberous fruit, eaten roasted, whose taste is reminiscent of potatoes.

6. A similar tuberous fruit is the ondubi of the Herero; the plant has rose-colored blossoms and long lanceolate leaves.

7. The árugu (Herero: omakungu), a type of cucumber. The plant is a climber whose fruits resemble our cucumbers; they reach the length of a finger and, when they ripen, become bright [252] red in color. They are roasted in ashes and eaten warm.

8. The //ániba (Herero: maramba), a small bush with a bean-like fruit, similar in appearance and taste to our broad beans.

9. The sng of the Kung Bushmen; this is a large climber with double-lobate leaves whose mighty root is greatly prized by the Bushmen as a water tuber. The fruit is the size of a walnut and consists of two cotyledons enclosed by a rind which in its fresh state is soft and becomes very hard when dry. Between the fruit and the rind there is a small quantity of a whitish, slimy fluid which keeps the interior of the rind /255/ lubricated. After re- [252] moval of the rind, the fruit is dried and roasted and then has the taste of the groundnut which is so common in East Africa. Its use has a distinctly laxative effect.

10. Like the Herero, the Bushmen are acquainted with other water tubers. The Herero word chue designates a smaller root with a very high water content, which has the shape and size of our beet.

11. The /a fruit of the Kung people is a nut slightly larger than the walnut, whose kernel, in a hard shell, tastes like our hazelnut. The hard inner shell is enclosed by a softer outer shell [252] which has a distinctively sweet taste and which the Bushmen boil to a sauce which in appearance and taste is distinctly reminiscent of applesauce.

● 291 There is not much to be said about the clothing of the Heikum. The men content themselves in most cases with a leather loincloth which is fastened in the back and front to a belt tied around the waist.

The women wear the same kind of leather cloth of slightly greater length around their loins and tie a second hide from one shoulder to the opposite hip.

/255 cont./

281 The hair is removed from the hides. After the skinning, the hides are stretched out on the ground for two days, exposed to the sun; then the hair is removed, and subsequently the juice of a red tuber is rubbed into the hides on the inside. After they have been prepared in this manner, they are buried in the ground for a longer period of time and are then ready for use.

291 Not infrequently the Bushmen wear sandals which they cut from antelope hide in the simplest manner imaginable. A leather sole is fastened with three thongs to a leather ring lying over the instep and drawn tight below the ankle. One thong runs between the first and the second toe, while the two others run inside and outside the foot.

301 The children go about quite naked. Despite this sparseness of clothing, the feeling for ornamentation finds full expression.

Many ornamental objects serve as amulets which are worn for a great variety of purposes. The women are more richly adorned than the men. Whereas the latter frequently content themselves with arm rings made of antelope leather, the women are usually overloaded with ornamental objects. One of the favorite women's ornaments is a necklace made of ostrich egg shells. The shells [321] are worked into small, approximately penny-sized circular disks which are pierced in the middle and strung on a leather thong. Arm and leg rings are made of the same materials.

In place of the little ostrich egg disks, colored glass beads [439] obtained in trade are frequently used for necklaces and arm rings. One sees many a woman walking along with a tortoise-shell box hanging on her chest, /256/ which is decorated with bead-studded leather strips and used as a container for tobacco.

Pierced pieces of root, distinguished by natural rings notched at regular intervals, are strung on leather thongs for necklaces.

224 I found the following ornamental objects which simultaneously
301 served the function of an amulet:

1. Little pieces of dried antelope flesh are worn on the chest in the belief that the wearer will not lack meat to eat so long as he wears these guarantees.

2. The same significance is attached to dried antelope ears which are worn in a small leather bag on the chest.

/256 cont./

224 301 828 3. A piece of root wood, called /un /gei, is pierced and worn on a bast string on the chest. This little piece of root has its distinctive story. When the Bushmen are hunting and want a clear eye to see game, they scrape a bit off its surface and rub the powdery scrapings between the eyes and from there upward across the middle of the forehead to the hairline. They believe that they can increase their keenness of vision by this procedure. An experiment that I made with the powder produced no change on the skin that was treated and naturally did not have any visible effect on my keenness of vision.

301 787 4. Little wooden sticks which are used as oracular instruments, especially by the Kung people of the Kaukau Veld.

These are four wooden sticks which are strung on a string and worn on the chest. They are about as long as a finger and about two centimeters wide. Two of them are about as thick as a finger; the two others are only a few millimeters thick. One end of the sticks is cut off smooth, and the other pointed. These four sticks are questioned for all imaginable purposes. If the Bushman wants to know where game is, where he is to expect an enemy, or which route he is to take, he asks his sticks. He does so in the following manner. He spreads a piece of leather in front of him and crouches on the ground. Then he places all four sticks parallel and on top of one another in his left hand, the back of the hand being turned toward the ground. With a sudden jerk, accompanied by clicking the tongue, he throws the little sticks on the cloth; naturally, the sticks are scattered with their tips pointing in various directions. Depending on the matter at hand, each little stick signifies something special. When I had a Bushman captain in the Kaukau Veld consult his oracle concerning the fate of our patrol, one of the thick sticks in this throw signified the oxcart that accompanied the patrol. A lively argument concerning the significance of the sticks in a given case frequently arises between the consulter of the oracle and the spectator; finally, the view of the more respected of the two apparently wins out.

/257/ The clothing of the Kung people in the Kaukau Veld 184 is essentially the same as that of the Heikum on the Omuramba 291 ua omatako; even the ornaments do not show any great differences. 301 Nevertheless, I was struck by certain peculiarities of the Kaukau people that I did not find among the Heikum.

As the spellings of the Bushman names on my herbarium specimens are from field notes, they are often different from the spellings given in this paper, which was done after I had had the opportunity of consulting the authors I have mentioned. It will be noticed that many of the plants do not have the full set of Bushman names. The main reason is that we were not in contact with the Eastern !khû speakers until we had passed Ghanzi, and lost contact successively with the !gikwe, ǁganakwe and !h3: speakers as the expedition drew to a close. Other reasons are that my field notes were sometimes inadequate, that I forgot to ask, and that some plants appeared restricted to certain areas and were not known to all the groups of Bushmen.

As the expedition was during the winter when most of the plants were in poor condition, very little photography was done in the field. Most of the photographs are from plants which were sent back to Pretoria and cultivated there, or from plants which grow naturally in the Transvaal. In this paper the plants and photographs are arranged according to de Dalla Torre and Harms (1900-1907). Specimen numbers are in brackets.

There is little doubt that the plants discussed here represent only a fraction of those used, for we covered a very small part of the area over which the Bushmen range, and this when probably most of the annuals were dead, when some foods were out of season and when the above ground parts of many bulbous and tuberous plants had withered and disappeared so that the plants themselves could not be found.

Because of poor yield, poor quality, difficulty in harvesting or lack of flavour, not many of the Bushman food plants would be worth cultivating in their present form for the use of civilised people, but they offer a large field to the plant breeder. The most promising have been noted accordingly in the text.

There were few bones around the Bushman encampments, but this does not necessarily mean that there is a scarcity of meat in their diet, for the bones might have been removed by porcupines (Alexander, 1956; Dart, 1957) or eaten by hyaenas. A more reliable indication was the scantiness of the Bushmen's skin coverings. There are sharp frosts in the Kalahari and sometimes bitter winds, and one may argue that the Bushmen would provide themselves with sufficient skins if they had a regular supply of meat, although admittedly they eat skins after charring them on the coals and pounding them in a mortar. Vegetable refuse from former meals and fresh vegetable food, however, were found at all the Bushman encampments, and additional gatherings were the permanent chore of the women and children and of the men to a lesser degree. The insanitary condition of the surroundings also provided unmistakable evidence that the bulk of their food was of vegetable origin.

Their knowledge of field botany was astonishingly good. It has to be, otherwise they would have no chance of survival in their arid country. Fragments of stem, dead leaves, and other small clues of this nature, after being unerringly identified, were all the Bushmen needed to find many of the storage organs they were seeking. Differences which escaped me would enable them to distinguish between edible and harmful plants, and they had a thorough knowledge of the areas and habitats in which their food plants grew. They must have an influence on the distribution of plants,

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Wakeldi Women (Hei //om).
S.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 81]

8: Fourie D-5 (ca. 1920) 1928
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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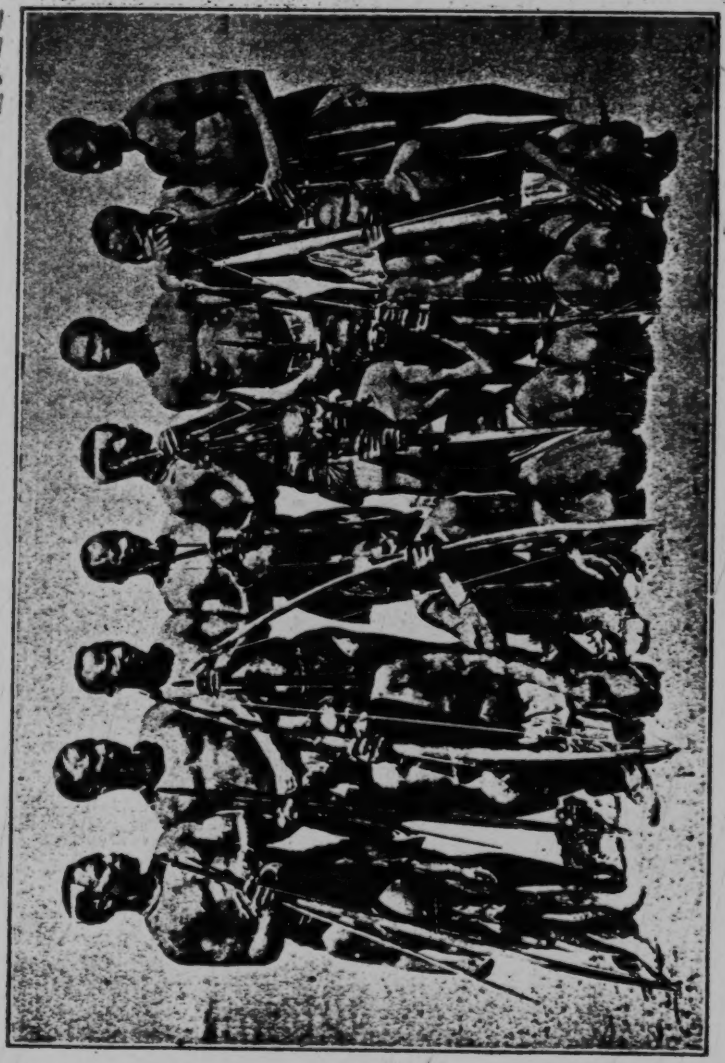

Wakeddi Bushmen (Hei //om).
S.W. Ovamboland.

[FACING p. 100]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

watching part of a dance. This is not a beauty of the flesh, and therefore exists in everyone who is not an infant or stiff with age. Bushmen have long, slender arms and legs, and the men are built for running, all lean muscle and fine bone, and consequently they often seem younger than they are. They are delicate of proportion, too, and they speak very softly.

Bushmen dress themselves in the skins of animals, a man wearing only a leather loincloth and a woman a small leather apron and a big kaross, a leather cape made from a whole animal hide, belted at the waist with a sinew cord, knotted at the shoulder, forming a pouch in back where a baby can ride, and where the woman carries her blown ostrich eggs, which are used as water containers. Bushmen are a very neat people; they keep their clothes tidily about themselves, and though they do not really need haircuts because their curly hair breaks off by itself, they prefer to keep their hair cropped close to their heads. White ornaments of ostrich-eggshell beads dangle from tufts of their hair and are strung in tiny bands around their arms and knees. Sometimes they wear leather sandals, but mostly their hard brown feet are bare.

The first time we came to the Kalahari, we spent several months looking for Bushmen. It was very hard for us to find them because they are shy of any stranger. If they believe that you are coming, they run away like foxes to hide in the grass until you have gone. Their tiny huts, dome-shaped and made of grass, are also inconspicuous. I once walked right into an empty werf, as their tiny villages are called, and didn't see the little scherms, or huts, hidden in the grass until I noticed a small skin bag dangling in a shadow, which was a doorway. Then I saw the frame of the scherm around it, then the other scherms as well. The werf was abandoned, all the people had slipped away, but I heard two voices whis-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

[151] that marks an edible root, or see a scorpion hidden in the dust 174 and jump over it. So Bushmen survive in the most rigorous places; they survive in the dense, mosquito-ridden papyrus 131 swamps of the Okovango River, steaming like a jungle and 133 dangerous with snakes and fever, where the River Bushmen [187] live, the only Bushmen with plenty of water; they also survive on the vast, rolling steppes of central Bechuanaland, the territory of the Gikwe Bushmen, who for the nine dry months of the year have no water at all and do without it.

609 Besides the fact that Bushmen alone can live in the land 563 they occupy, there is another reason for their remoteness and 648 shyness. They are in many instances exploited by the Bantu farmers, and by a few of the European farmers, usually those who need free or almost free labor. Many Bantu farms and households have Bushman servants, or serfs, rather, as they usually come from the land on or near the farm, and when working they are paid nothing but are given food, tobacco, 464 and sometimes cast-off clothing as wages. Some European 648 farms in Bechuanaland and some in South-West Africa have Bushman laborers too, though most European farmers do not depend on Bushman labor. Those European farmers who do employ Bushmen usually pay wages, about ten shillings a month, plus a ration of food to each Bushman who is working, though not necessarily to his family, consisting of about a pound of cornmeal and a quart of milk a day, meat occasionally, and weekly a ration of tobacco. Perhaps the employer will add a set of clothing—that is, a pair of cast-off pants and a shirt—and perhaps a blanket every year, but occasionally they pay their labor in cast-off clothing and omit the ten shillings altogether.

648 European clothing is esteemed among Bushmen, for it is 291 symbolic to them of a people mightier than themselves, and 439

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

also because, made of cloth instead of leather, it is more clinging, therefore warmer and more comfortable, and dries faster when wet. It is sought after and desired, it is got through employment; yet, even so, Bushmen hesitate to seek employment because they believe that they will be badly treated (as they sometimes are) and they often find the customary wage and food ration to be inadequate for anyone who must support a family. Supposedly, the wives of Bushmen laborers are free to look on the farmer's land for roots and berries, as they would if they were living in the veld; but, as it happens, after a few years the supply of wild food around a farm becomes exhausted.

The Bantu farmers, being as a rule much poorer than the European farmers, are less generous to their Bushman serfs. They also give a food ration of cornmeal and milk but almost never meat, for any meat that may come into the Bantu kraal is eaten by the Bantus unless it is the carcass of a hyena or a leopard which the Bantu masters have killed for the pelt. The Bantus say: "Our Bushman servants are like our children; they herd our cattle for us and we feed them. A child does not ask for wages when he helps with the family work."

Besides this, the Bantus badly cheat the Bushmen who come in from the veld to trade cured antelope hides for metal and tobacco, sometimes asking several hides, worth several pounds apiece, for enough tobacco to fill the palm of the Bushman's hand, or for a piece of wire long enough to make an arrowhead. All in all, it does not benefit the Bushmen to live anywhere near Bantu or European settlements, and that is why the Bushmen of the veld run and hide when they see Europeans coming, believing that they may be taken by force (as they sometimes are), and why they avoid going to a Bantu settlement except to trade for tobacco when they feel

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

291 Both men were thin, brown-skinned, and wore nothing but loincloths, and they looked very out of place next to us, among our big trucks and boxes of equipment, squatting naked like two frogs against the long grass and reddening sky of their country. We sat by the fire to talk with them, and it was the old man who answered our questions. His name was [194 551] Ukwane, and he seemed very old, for he spoke with a hesitant, cracked voice that faded into a whisper at the end of every phrase, and whenever some of us would leave or join the group at the fire he would stare intently at us, frowning, [164] leaning forward a little because he could barely see us, his eyes being filmed with cataracts, hazy blue.

142 Ukwane had great wrinkles lengthwise down his belly where his paunch had shrunk. His hands were knobbed and his shoulders stiff, yet his legs were as supple as a baby's, for [514] he sat crouched with his knees in the air and his heels tucked up tight against his buttocks. His skin looked old, too, like [302] old leather, hardened and black like a glove that has been left in the rain, and his curly hair was disheveled, uncut, untidy with pieces of straw.

609 Our questions frightened Ukwane, and often he was at a loss for something to reply. He thought we were policemen coming to look for some lost horses, for somehow a rumor had reached into the farthest corners of the veld that a European farmer had lost seven horses and all the people in the veld were afraid for their lives. The first thing he said was that he hadn't seen any horses and certainly hadn't taken them himself. He was too old, he said. We told him that we were not policemen and, besides, had never heard of the horses, but he was not reassured. He coughed and turned to the young man, who looked at us with nothing to say.

609 The young man was also very shy, but had a greater dignity 194 than Ukwane because of his cool, proud bearing. He said

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

very little, and when he did speak it was in a voice so soft that it was almost inaudible. Also, he held his hand in front of his mouth with a finger against his lips, which muffled his words so that only Ukwane could understand them. This was what the young man intended; he meant for the old man to speak for them both and only wanted to help him through tight spots in the conversation.

The young man told us his name, though, which was Gai. Gai sat crouching too, like Ukwane, and kept self-consciously shifting his position, pretending to be unconcerned. He glanced at us out of the corners of his eyes and smiled skeptically from time to time, for although he did not know us and, as we learned later, had not seen Europeans before, therefore had no way of judging our remarks and our expressions, he was younger than Ukwane, and prouder, and was afraid of showing his naïveté, afraid of seeming to believe a lie or disbelieving something that everyone should know was true.

Gai was extremely handsome. In fact, he was one of the most beautiful human beings I have ever seen, tall for a Bushman, his head shaved, showing a strong, domed skull. His face was strong, too, a little heavy of bone, with a big jaw which he carried thrust forward and up so that he looked at you from the bottom of his eyes, a reserved gaze. His body was smooth and brown, built compactly, the body itself long in proportion to the arms and legs. Like all Bushmen, he was narrow of shoulder and hip, with a deep chest and a large belly, and when seen from the side as his belly relaxed he seemed wider from front to back than he was from side to side, very like a hunting animal whose chest is deep but narrow. Gai was also well dressed, not with a strip of leather like Ukwane, but with a beautifully designed, worked, and fringed loincloth with two wide tabs at the back which he could spread to sit on. He wore a band around his hips, too,

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

as a belt for the loincloth, with a fringe of leather strips so long that when he sat down the fringe lay on the ground.

We asked them where they lived, and Ukwane, who was afraid to answer, said he was old and did not remember. Gai said they lived many days' journey to the east. We asked if the huts beside our camp belonged to them, and they said no, they had never seen them before, neither did they have the slightest idea how they came to be there.

We gave them some more tobacco as a gesture of our good faith and we told them that we had come from America, hundreds of days' travel and across a great body of water, but of course they had never heard of America or the ocean and thought we meant the Okovango River, and at that they didn't really believe us, although they were too polite to tell us so. "Merica," they said softly, with a beautiful, curled *r*, almost a *d* or an *l*. We said that we had come to visit them and to give them presents. We said that we were the friends of many Bushmen in the west where we had lived for a year, and had been given Bushman names, so we weren't entirely strangers. We told them the names, which made them smile, because of course they weren't Gikwe names, but Gai and Ukwane softened a little with this and admitted that, after all, the huts were theirs.

Finally they told us that a few nights ago they had been sitting at their fires, the two men, their wives and children, and one other family, when they had heard the sound of our trucks, which had frightened them so that they had run off into the veld in all directions, taking nothing with them except the few possessions that had come first to hand. Ukwane, warming a little, said that he had been so terrified that he had crawled away on his hands and knees, afraid to show his head above the tops of the bushes.

Presently they had found each other again and had settled

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
GiKwe

609 In a short time we heard a rustle in the veld, and a young
854 woman who seemed to be in her early twenties stepped from the bushes. She was, Ukwane said, Gai's wife, and on her hip she carried a baby, a naked three-year-old who looked at us from his wide eyes fearlessly, then, realizing that we were strangers, buried his face in his mother's arm. His mother stroked him calmly and came toward us smiling and nodding her head graciously, although a little pulse was hammering in the V of her throat. We learned later that she had been sitting in the bushes very near us, and when she had seen her husband go by she had assumed that everything was all right and had come to greet us, not bothering to answer his cries.

142 She was a short, sturdy woman with round arms, long thighs, and short calves. She had a rather large belly and
● 291 square, strong shoulders, and she wore a very tattered cape or kaross over her back, with a small leather apron around her hips. She had no ornaments except a row of blue scars over
304 her eyes, a decoration, and she had allowed her hair to be-
302 come disheveled, long, and a little tangled, hanging down
184 over her ears in tight spirals, instead of having shaved it off as most Bushman women do. All this gave her a very matter-of-fact air, which was not deceiving, for she saw in a glance that we were harmless and, looking us over, sat down at once beside me.

304 Her baby pulled, twisted, and tugged at her, and from the way he behaved I judged that he kept her too busy to be for-
[854] ever cutting her hair or making bead ornaments. Besides, she told us later, if she wore ornaments, the baby pulled them off. She had her row of scars, though, delicate and arching over her brow, making her eyes seem wider; as well as a row of striped scars along her thighs. These, say Bushmen, are made to imitate the beauty of zebras, and many women wear them, having been decorated when they were still young. It

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Gai was afraid of us at first. He listened carefully to everything we said, but he would not speak.

Even among her own people Tsetchwe was lonely, for in her band there was no young woman but herself.

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[P. 112(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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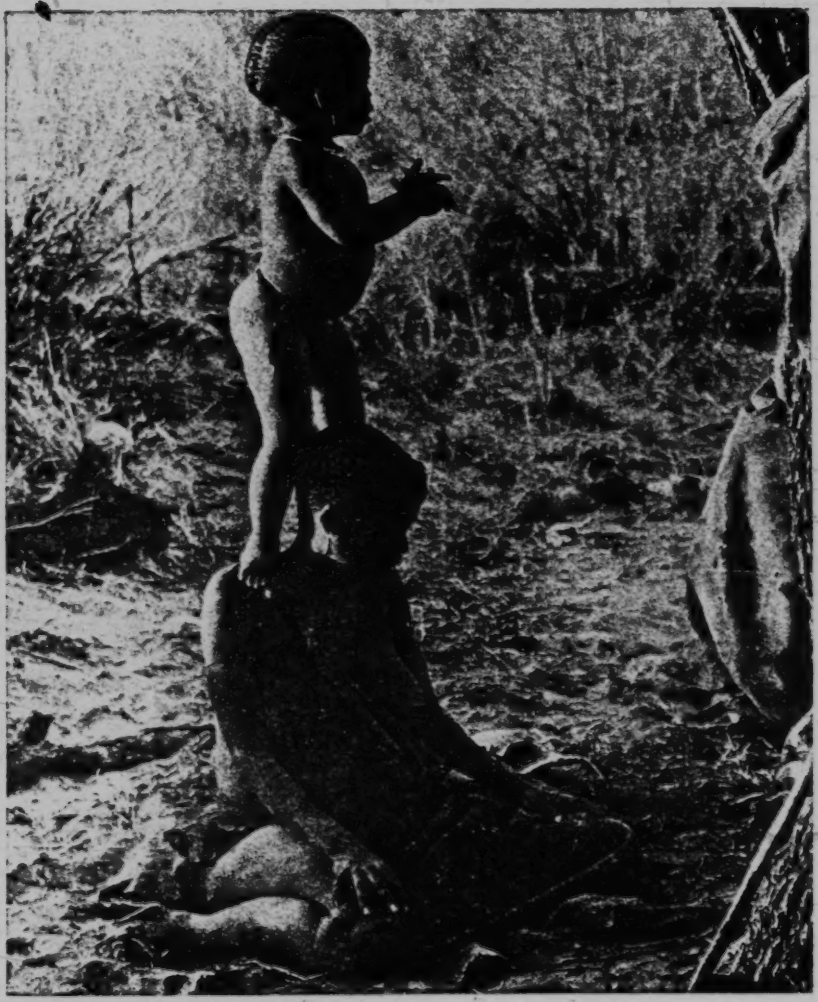

He climbed to her shoulder and stood there triumphantly without holding on, gazing around like a child on a hill.

[p. 112 (F)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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The jealous men from Okwa.

[p. 112(G)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Long reeds almost filled the waterhole at Gautscha.

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Alone at his fire, Ukwane plays a mood song.

[p. 176(A)]

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I sometimes received presents of gum from trees, or soft, sweet caterpillars.

Toma the leader.

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[P. 176(B)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

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Crooked Kwi and his wife, who once had run away from him.

Dikai made a bow from a branch, an arrow from a reed, and gave them to her younger son.

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[p. 176(C)]

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Toma's son, the new owner of Short Kwi's crown of badger hair.

The young musician—the lonely, brooding man who played the guashi.

[p. 176(D)]

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Beautiful Ungka's cousin, and the little girl who was content to follow her and be her handmaiden.

[p. 176(E)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10

The old man who had never shot a buck, who had never married, now almost blind, too thin, and without people.

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Tu made Norna clothes of ostrich-eggshell beads, an art taught to Bushmen by the gemsbok people.

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[p. 176 (6)]

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

the buffalo's horn had wounded him. Otherwise, he looked very well. All the people seemed well, especially the children. Toma's oldest son wore a crown of badger skin with the long hair standing up on it, and two safety pins that we had given him, which he wore as earrings in his pierced ears. With all this he looked bold as a pirate. His brother was nearly as big as he was, and his sister, Norna, now three, was a slender, graceful child who regarded the world with dark, wondering eyes.

Norna's sixteen-year-old uncle, Tu's brother, was there too. He was a lame boy; he had been crippled in one leg since childhood and could hobble only with the help of a long stick. People had despaired of him, believing that he would never be able to hunt and therefore never marry or inherit the headmanship of Gautscha Pan, but when we saw him now and looked at him closely we noticed a fine row of scars between his eyes and on his arms and chest and we knew that he had hunted and killed an antelope and had been scarified in his initiation. We had planned on this trip to give him presents of all kinds, to make him rich, so that he could marry whether he could hunt or not, but we saw now that this would not be necessary. When he knew that we had noticed his scars he told us in great detail the story of the hunt. He told us how he had gone out with a group of hunters, how he had first seen the two horns of a kudu above a clump of bushes, how he had silently hobbled near it, propped himself on his crutch, and shot it with a poisoned arrow. The arrow had penetrated deeply and the lame boy had returned to tell the others. They had followed it with him for a day and in the evening had found it dead. It was the lame boy's kudu, though; he shot it, and to Bushmen that is the important thing. He was scarified with a paste made of the kudu's meat, and ever after that he was a man.

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

from the foreheads of the antelope they kill and fashion them into bracelets which their wives wear on their arms. Short Kwi's wife and daughter wore dozens of these; their arms were covered and heavy with them. Short Kwi himself wore no ornament of any kind, nothing except a crown of badger hair which he owned for a while but later gave to Toma, the very crown that Toma's son now wore.

One day, said Toma, Short Kwi had been walking in the veld and had failed to watch where he was going. He had stepped on the tail of a puff adder, which had risen up and bitten his leg, just below the knee. It was a rare and terrible accident; in all the time we had been in the Kalahari we had known of only two people besides Short Kwi who had been harmed by snakes—a young boy bitten by a mamba who had died the day he was bitten, and a young woman who had been pulled into a waterhole by a water python and had drowned. Usually, snakes move away when you come near them, or if they don't, you can usually see them; but you can't walk with your eyes on the ground all the time, especially if you are hunting, as Short Kwi had been. His misfortune was regarded as a horrible accident and it was felt that the spirits of the dead were to blame. They had led Short Kwi down the very path the puff adder had chosen, and perhaps had even placed the snake where his foot was sure to fall. Toma and Goa Feet were very depressed to think of it. Although the talk turned to other things, Gao Feet mentioned the accident again and again; everything seemed to remind him of it. At last Toma said to us: "Perhaps you can help him hunt again. Since he was bitten his people have had no meat."

Toma told us that he had been with Short Kwi near Nama Pan when the third group of white farmers had arrived. The farmers had looked at Short Kwi and had offered to cut his leg off for him then and there. This had frightened the Bush-

9: Thomas T-5 (1951-1955)1959
FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

164 Short Kwi's wife, who looked around at them all gravely, listening, and when they had finished she nodded her head. "A medicine man of Europeans," they said.

"So," said she.

We talked about the foot for a while, for although he had covered it we could still see the toes. The people of the werf described how Short Kwi was bitten and everyone claimed credit for his part in saving Short Kwi's life. One man had killed the snake, another had cut the fang punctures, and others had given advice at the time and later. The leg had [758] swelled enormously and the medicine men had cut the swollen skin to let blood; the scars of this still showed on the healthy thigh above the blanket. All the people seemed very depressed when talking about it, though; for one reason, they ate meat less often, but also they truly admired him and did not seem to enjoy watching the disaster. Toma asked Short Kwi how he felt and Short Kwi said he thought that his leg had seemed to be getting a little better during the last few days.

582 It was almost evening, and we heard voices singing in the veld. Two women and a young girl were coming home from a trip for veld food. These three were also very happy to see us and the little girl kissed me but not the men, then asked for her mother, who lived at Nama and whom she had not seen for seasons, and we told her that her mother was well. The girl had been newly married and she was as pretty as she could be, with lots of beads, and with long ornaments of tsi nuts hanging beside her face. She wore a fine kaross which she had rubbed with red powder, often a sign to men that a [291 822 224 841 784] girl is menstruating, as perhaps she was, that men may be careful not to touch her and endanger their powers to hunt. Marriage seemed to have agreed with her. She looked very

11: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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!KUNG MOTHER, collecting near camp, cradles a suckling daughter in a fold of her skin *kaross*, while her toddler son carries along a stick of his own.

[P. 11]

Il: Marshall E-5 (1950-1955) 1958 FX10 Bushmen FX10
Kung

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YOUNG COUPLE stands, shyly smiling, at outskirts of *nerfi*. Marriage among the !Kung, as in the case here, often occurs before the girls reach puberty.

237 and bowstrings. horn makes spoons and small containers: most needed of all are the skins—converted into bags and nets for carrying. and into clothes. Men wear only a breechclout. Women wear modesty aprons, often one in front and one behind, as well as a piece of soft skin. clasped between their buttocks and thighs. when menstruating. Both men and women wear *kaross*'s. The *kaross*, or skin cloak, is the most important garment and everyone tries to have one. If a man has only one *kaross*, and he is a good man. he will give it to his wife and do without—for. to a woman. a *kaross* is essential. In it, she is modest. In it. she carries the roots she has gathered in the day and the baby who must go where she goes. Her *kaross* is her warmth at night. her softness on the cold ground. It breaks the blind wind and roofs away the narrow rain.

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[482]

[p. 57]

FIG. 1. The clustered scherms of a /Kung werf (left) are hardly visible in the grass and brush of the veld

FIG. 2. Groups from Band 1 and visitors sitting at three family fires

FIG. 3. Khoan//a thinking things over after 'the talk'

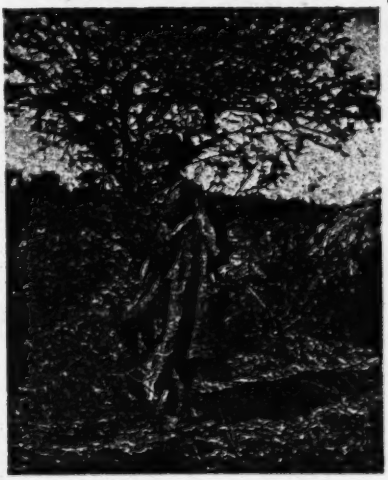

FIG. 4. /U, the wife of ≠Toma, with an expression which is characteristic of her

[p. 240-A]

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On the Move A Bushman hangs his possessions on a carrying stick and thrusts his assegai under the stick in back to distribute the weight onto both shoulders.

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462 When the people go to gather mangettis or *tsī*, the men always accompany the women and help to gather and to carry the heavy loads—as much as they possibly can—back to the water hole.

Though the men help, especially with *tsī* and mangettis, gathering and digging are the work of women and the work that takes up the greater portion of their energy and time throughout their lives. Their digging implement is a sharpened, unweighted stick about three feet long. When we were living with the Gautscha bands at the Gautscha water hole in the dry season, the women went to gather every day or every second or third day, depending on the distance and on how much food they could carry back. They would plan which patch or fertile area to go to and start out in small groups, some to one place, some to another. They would walk five or ten or fifteen miles to their destination and then pick berries or dig roots, which may lie two feet or more under the ground, until the mid-afternoon, and then start back to the werf (campsite) at the water hole. They carry their infants tied to them, small children on their shoulders, and the loads of veldkos in the bulges of their karosses (skin capes). When they near the werf, they pick up two or three logs for the night fires.

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The veldkos that each woman gathers belongs to her and with it she feeds her own family, sharing with whatever relative or friend she wishes. Custom does not require her to share it in a systematic way with others as meat must be shared. She cooks her veldkos in the coals and hot ashes, pounds fibrous roots and hard berries in her mortar, and serves the food to her family as a family meal, usually in the evening. During the day, however, people may cook and eat little snacks at odd times.

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731 Although there are numerous kinds of veldkos, we must not give the impression that there is a great abundance. In fact, the opposite is true. Food is scarce all over the arid Kalahari, where drought is the scourge on all—the cattle raisers, the dry farmers, and the gatherers of the wild foods.

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582 There has been much intermarriage in the Nyae Nyae region. Families therefore may have close relatives—with whom they have the right to live—

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

for stretching carrying nets, and for pounding things. Informants said they had never seen or heard of stone arrow points or blades. They still use bone and wood points occasionally but have for the most part changed over to metal for knives, axes, assegai blades, and drills, as well as for arrow points.

From wood the men make bows and quivers as well as sticks for making fire, digging, carrying, and stirring; handles for knives, axes, and assegais; bowls, spoons, mortars, and pestles; and musical instruments—the five-stringed *//guashi* and a one-stringed violin. Reed and bone are available in plenty for arrow shafts. There are abundant fiber and sinew for the excellent cordage that men and women make. Little tortoise shells are dippers and cosmetic boxes. Hides, although not abundant, are sufficient—in the Nyae Nyae region at least—for everyone to have a kaross, for the men to have breechclouts, and for the women to have modesty aprons and skins to wear around the buttocks. All have sewn skin bags. These objects of hide are made by men because they are products of the hunt. Frequently there are surplus hides for trade.

Ostrich egg shells are used for water containers, and women make ostrich egg shell beads. This is the one important craft of the women and the one for which Bushmen are noted among the surrounding peoples. Good ostrich egg shell bead ornaments are the most prized possessions of the !Kung. The women also make ornaments of European beads and of grass and thongs and *tsi* nuts. They very much enjoy ornamenting themselves.

The !Kung decorate their artifacts occasionally with rather meager scratched designs but have not developed graphic, pictorial, or sculptural arts to any appreciable extent.

The !Kung trade with their Tswana and Herero neighbors, offering well-tanned hides, ostrich egg shell beads, and a red powder they make from the dead heartwood of a certain tree. Usually what they want most of all in exchange is tobacco—for they are passionately addicted smokers—and malleable metal from which they shape their arrow points and assegai blades. They also want knives, axes, European beads, and either the round-bottomed Ovambo pots or European iron pots. Once in a while they get an old chisel or file, a basin or cup, or a few miserable scraps of cloth garments. The little Bushmen find the bigger, more aggressive Bantu hard bargainers and are rather at their mercy.

The significant thing about !Kung artifacts from a social point of view is that they are not accumulated as wealth and their possession does not symbolize high status or bestow prestige. It is not advantageous to multiply and accumulate in this society. Any man can make what he needs when he wants to. Most of the materials he uses are abundant and free for anyone to take. Furthermore, in their nomadic lives, without beasts of burden, the fact that the people themselves must carry everything puts a sharp limit

15: Marshall E-5 (1951-1961) 1965
FX10 Bushmen FX10
!Kung

to do so. Lack of privacy makes it almost impossible to keep an affair secret, and violent jealousy and anger can be aroused. Fearing any disruptive force, the !Kung disapprove.

LIFE CYCLE

CHILD TRAINING • !Kung parents are gentle, protective, and permissive with all their children and express their affection especially with babies. It is a most common sight to see fathers fondly kissing them with pursed lips and smacks. The mother, wherever she goes, carries her infant tied to her left side, skin to skin, in a little leather sling where it can reach her breast. When she sits, she takes the infant out of its sling, holds it, lets it nurse the other breast.

The !Kung believe that long nursing is essential to the survival and development of their children and encourage them to continue until they are three or four or older. These people practice infanticide and, in explaining it, say that they must space their babies so that each will be able to nurse long enough to ensure his having strong legs. An infant cannot thrive on their harsh foods, they say, even though they chew the food and put it into the infants' mouths, and the mother cannot support two entirely with her milk, excellent though !Kung lactation appears to be. They supplement the milk with adult food as soon as the child can eat it, so that a child is accustomed to it and ready to be weaned at three or four when the next baby comes. But, even so, the mother weans gradually, letting the older child have a drink of milk occasionally through the day. If the mother does not have or keep another baby but still has milk, she will allow or encourage her child to continue nursing. Other children tend to make fun of a child who nurses until he is six or so, and, in response to their teasing, a child may wean himself quite abruptly.

Babies are naked and, since there are no floors but the desert sand, not much is made of their urinating wherever they are. When they defecate, they are wiped with grass and the fecal matter is cleaned up at once by some older child or adult and carried off. As soon as children can walk fairly well they are led by the hand and encouraged to go out of the werf for their toilet needs, at first for the sake of cleanliness and, as they grow older, for the sake of modesty as well. (!Kung adults are exceedingly modest about uncovering their genitalia. Their incest taboo influences this behavior, I think, very strongly.)

Infants sleep in their mothers' arms. Young children sleep wrapped in karosses beside their parents' fire. Boys from the age of about eleven or twelve sleep at a boys' fire, not far from the family of one of them. Girls at that age go to sleep with a grandmother or some widow, or several of them

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The *Choa* Ceremony The mother takes the girl's hands to scrape the tsi out of the ashes.

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[224]

choa-ed. The old woman who attends her performs this part of the ceremony (or her mother may do so). She scrapes a root called *sha sha* into the water hole. To *choa* the veldkos, the old woman takes the girl's hands in hers and together they place the veldkos in the fire. When it is cooked, they scrape it out together and the old woman puts *sha sha* in her mouth, chews it, and blows on the girl's hands and on the veldkos. This protects the girl from having an upset stomach. Each veldkos must be *choa*-ed the first time the girl eats it after the First Menstruation ceremony.

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No ceremonials mark subsequent menstruation periods, and the women do not seclude themselves during the flow or avoid gathering veldkos or dipping water from the water hole. They continue only to practice certain avoidances that in general have to do with men's hunting. The menstruating woman must not touch hunting gear; it would be very bad, for the arrows would be useless. She must not have sexual intercourse with her husband; it would make him tired and thin. Men in the years of their hunting prime should not talk or listen to talk about menstruation, for to do so might make them lazy in hunting.

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The girls who are married before their first menstruation have the same menstruation ceremony when the time comes as do the unmarried girls.

There is no genital mutilation practiced among the girls and women of the !Kung. Girls are scarified, but not at the time of the menstruation ceremony. The scarification is begun when the girl is about seven or eight and is continued little by little over several years. Stripes are made on the legs,

[p. 266]

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The Ceremonial Curing Dance A medicine man is going into a trance.

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to cast the sickness out, hurling it into the darkness back to */Gauwa* or the */gauwasi*, who are there beyond the firelight, with a sharp, yelping cry of "*kai kai kai.*"

The medicine men are usually only in shallow trance at this point, but, when the curing has been going on for some time, they begin to reach a state of patterned frenzy. They no longer go around to the people, their spasms of grunting and shrieking become more frequent and violent, their stomachs heave, they stagger and sway. They rush to the fire, trample it, pick up the coals, set fire to their hair. They believe that fire activates the medicine in them. People hold them to keep them from falling and beat out the flames. The medicine men rush out into the darkness, where */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi* are lurking. They hurl burning sticks and swear at them. "Filthy face!" they screech. "Take away the sickness you have brought. You are bad. You want to kill us. Go away. . . . *Hishe*, you are a liar. This man will not die." At this point the medicine man may fall down in deep trance and appear to be unconscious or semiconscious, with eyes closed, stiff as a board, unable to walk. This stage of trance may last only a brief time or may continue for hours—even into the next day. Gradually it is resolved and the medicine man takes up his normal activities.

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The !Kung believe that at the time of deep trance the medicine man's spirit leaves his body and goes out to meet */Gauwa* and the */gauwasi*. They call this "half death." It is a dangerous time. The women must continue to sing the medicine music. The man's body must be watched over, rubbed, and kept warm by other medicine men who are in less deep trance.

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The violence and excitement of the ceremony have the effect, as in a

[p. 272]

177 411 415 291 As far as is known, all Bushmen hunting today have had metal weapons, and utensils and clothing of European manufacture for at least 40 years.

162 433 Among the 34,800 Bushmen classified as non-hunting, there are, of course, many degrees of economic development. At one extreme, there are the second generation farm Bushmen of the Grootfrontien, Gobabis and Ghanzi Districts who have permanently given up the traditional subsistence round. Other farm Bushmen spend the rainy season living in the veld and work on the farms only in the winter dry season.

Many of the Bushmen in Ngamiland and the Crown Lands have made an excellent adjustment to modern conditions. For instance the Mababe and Pandamatenga people enjoy a settled village life combined with hunting for cash furs with rifles and steel traps. Many of the men work for hunting safaris where they have gained a good reputation as trackers and gun bearers.

433 The distribution of the various economic patterns is plotted on Map 4. There are four categories:

1. Full time hunting and gathering
2. Bantu-associated peoples with traditional lord-client relations
3. Independent villages with cash hunting and wage labor
4. European farm workers

224 462 [222] track the animal to the place where it has died. All the Dobe area Bushmen consistently hunted and collected within a 15-20 mile radius of their camps. Hunting trips of 3-10 days duration have been recorded in the literature on !Kung (e.g. L. Marshall 1960:331), but these extended trips were not a feature in the Dobe area.

222 224 462 The contrast in technology between the hunting equipment of the men and the gathering equipment of the women is striking. Only three elementary tools are required for the complete range of gathering tasks. On the other hand, the hunting kits consist of at least 19 complex weapons and devices, with sophisticated methods of manufacture and maintenance.

222 The three gathering tools are the <u>kaross</u>, the digging stick and the nut-cracking stones. With only these three items, a softened antelope hide, a sharpened stick, and a pair of unimproved rocks, the entire gamut of plant foods [291] can be exploited. The kaross is the most important of the three. This is a one-piece combination garment-cum-carrying-device made from the hide of a gemsbok, kudu or wildebeeste. [281] The raw hide is dried, the edges are trimmed and the hide is softened by a tanning agent from the plant <u>Elephantorhiza burkei</u>. The resulting garment is worn by the women draped [482] over the back. When tied at the waist by a leather thong, [291]

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482 the lower half of the kaross conceals the wearer's backside
[291] while the upper half forms a pouch for carrying vegetable foods (as well as water containers, firewood and babies).

Since most of the Bushman foods are nuts and berries, ranging in size from 1/2 to 1-1/2 inches in diameter, and hundreds of these small foods make up a family's daily diet, Bushman life would not be possible without some means of carrying quantities of these small foods back to the camp or "home base". One cannot overstate the importance of the food-carrying device for Bushman life, and for the life of hunting and gathering peoples in general. This, I think, has implications for the evolution of human subsistence during the Pleistocene since a device for carrying vegetable foods would seem to be a prerequisite for human camp life.

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412 The digging stick is secondary in importance to the kaross because all but one of the major Bushman foods are nuts, berries and melons which do not have to be dug out of the ground. The typical digging stick is three feet long, three quarters of an inch in diameter and sharpened into a blade at one end. It is made from the thick straight stalks of the bushes of the genera Dichrostachys and Grewia. It
[224] is not weighted by a bored stone. Apart from its obvious use for digging out edible roots and bulbs, the digging stick also plays an important role in mens' hunting activities.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

Dress and Decoration

Bushmen

Save where there has been a good deal of contact with European influences, all the Bushmen wear garments made entirely from the skins of animals, usually some kind of buck taken in the chase.[1] Complete nudity is hardly ever found, though it is reported on hearsay evidence by Miss Bleek of some of the wilder bands of Auen and Naron. All the clothes are made by the men, who prepare not only their own garments but also those of their wives and children.

The principal garment of the men among all the Bushmen consists in a triangular piece of skin, two ends of which are tied together round the loins, while the third is passed between the legs and knotted on behind. Some of the North-Eastern Bushmen (Tannekwe, Hukwe, Galikwe), who have been much in contact with the Bantu, have adopted the form of loin-cloth worn by the latter, in which a piece of skin passed between the legs is drawn before and behind through a leather girdle tied round the loins. A skin cloak ("kaross") is also worn by most of the men, especially in cold weather or when on the march. This is tied over the right shoulder by means of strips of skin attached to two ends, and hangs so as to cover the back and, if large enough, also the chest, while leaving the arms and left shoulder free. It is sometimes worn slung over both shoulders and tied under the chin. The head is usually uncovered, but skin caps are sometimes seen, as well as leather sandals tied round the ankle with thongs.

On the march the men carry a round bag slung on over the right shoulder and hanging on the left hip. In it are carried all sorts of small possessions and food. A longer skin bag, containing the weapons, fire-sticks, etc., is also hung over the left shoulder. Bark quivers for the arrows are sometimes found as well, more especially among the Southern and Namib Bushmen.

The women wear a hanging apron in front, consisting in a piece of skin attached to a leather belt passing round the loins. It is often ornamented with bead or leather tassels. A smaller apron, covering only the genitals, is sometimes worn beneath this. The older women

[1] The fullest descriptions of Bushman dress and decoration are given by: Fritsch, *Die Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, pp. 428–30; Passarge, *Die Buschmänner der Kalahari*, 33–40; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 140–3; Werner, "Beobachtungen über die Heikum- und Kung-Buschleute," 351–7; Seiner, "Bereisung des Gebietes zwischen Okawango und Sambesi," 297–8; Dorman, *Pygmies and Bushmen of the Kalahari*, 87–90; D. F. Bleek, *The Naron*, 8–10; E. Gretschel, "Die Buschmannsammlung Hannemann," *Jb. städt. Mus. Vkde. Leipzig*, v (1911–12), 101–10.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

also have a larger apron behind, sometimes hanging from the shoulders, more often tied round the waist, and almost meeting over or under the apron in front. In the north-east a leather loin-cloth drawn through a belt in the same way as that of the men, only somewhat longer, is often seen instead. A large kaross is also worn by the married women. This hangs from the right shoulder, passing under the left arm, and is tied again at the waist; it thus forms a convenient pouch, in which are carried the baby as well as supplies for the day, such as ostrich eggshells filled with water, edible roots and fruit, grass or firewood.

Babies go naked, save for a trifling ornament, till they are about a year old. The boys are then given a tiny belt with a semi-circular flap of leather in front, the girls a small apron decorated with leather tassels and beads. Their mother's kaross, however, continues to be their sole protection from the cold till they are weaned, when about three or four years old. The little girls then receive a tiny kaross hanging from the shoulders, the boys a small loin-cloth similar to that of the men. They do not wear a cloak of any kind till they are in their teens and are taken out to learn hunting.

All women and children and the younger men also wear ornaments. Chief among these are ostrich egg-shell beads, the making of which is one of the oldest Bushmen industries. Such beads, whole and in fragments, and at all stages of making, are found all over South Africa, from the kitchen-middens on the south coast as far north as the Okavango, where they form a standard article of barter between the Bushmen and their Bantu neighbours. They are made by the women. The eggshell is broken into small pieces which are softened in water and pierced with a small stone or iron borer. They are then threaded on to a strip of sinew and the rough edges chipped off with a horn. Soft bark fibre is next twisted between the beads, making the chain very taut, and the edges are finally rubbed smooth with a soft stone. The beads thus made are used as single chains or worked into more complicated ornaments. Bands of them are worn on the hair, sometimes encircling the whole head, more often tied to the hair on either side, while a long narrow strip may hang down the forehead or on to the neck behind. Necklaces and bracelets of these beads are also seen, and very long chains are fastened three or four times round the waist (Plate XI).

Besides these beads any other ornaments obtainable are worn by the women. These include arm and leg bands made of leather and bark strips or twisted from the tail hairs of a wildebeest or gnu, as

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
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354 513 [291] 356 this the inmates sleep, each curled up with knees to breast and covered by the kaross, which thus serves as a cloak by day and a blanket by night. The ashes of this fire are swept up every morning and added to the heap outside. The neighbourhood of the huts is kept fairly clean. Gnawed bones are thrown on a pile, then carried out to the bushes by the women, who also sweep the huts out with a branch, and clean up any mess made by the little children. No dirt is allowed anywhere near the encampment.[1]

[1] D. F. Bleek, *The Naron and his Friends*, p. vi; *idem*, *The Naron*, 5.

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2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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[facing p. 118]

L. Fourie

GROUP OF AUEN WOMEN AND CHILDREN
Notice the clothing and ornaments, and the mode of carrying the babies

[*face p.* 118

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L. Fouris

AUEN GIRL

L. Fouris

NARON WOMAN IN CEREMONIAL DRESS OF BEADWORK

[facing p. 122]

[face p. 122

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date)1930
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8: Dapper Q-4 (no date) 1933
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

big game, especially wild horses and mules. There are in [224]
those parts wild horses and mules, both so beautifully bred
out by nature that no painter is skilful enough to paint 136
them true to life with all their colouring. The horses have
buttocks extraordinarily dappled, and over the rest of the
body are striped yellow, black, red and pure sky blue. The
mules are also striped, white and chestnut brown, but not
dappled, and are uncommonly beautiful.[39]) The Sonquas in 439
1662 brought the skin of one of these beasts to the Cape,
which our countrymen bartered from them for tobacco and
other things. It was then filled with straw and hung up for
show in the hall of the Fort, as something curious and
uncommon, which it also is, to be seen by the people of the
incoming ships.[40])

The meat of the rock-rabbits constitutes a pleasant food 262
for the Sonquas, who live principally on it and on certain 231
roots growing in the ground. They also keep many hunting 224
dogs,[40a]) trained to hunt the rock-rabbits which are their
principal food, and knowing how to drag these animals out
of their holes.

They are extremely great plunderers and marauders. 721
They steal from other Hottentots all the cattle they can get,
with which they then flee immediately to the mountains,
where they cannot be found in their retreats and hidden
caves by anybody, not even by other Hottentots.

Their huts, made only of branches twined together, 342
without woven mats, and covered solely with rushes, are 361
several thousand in number; for they move about from one
place to another, and never break up the huts, but erect
still others wherever they camp.

Their little cloaks are sewn together from the skins of 291 ●
the wild oxen which live on the rocks. The women have a
quitazol or sunshade of ostrich feathers, tied on and about
the head, to protect themselves from the heat and burning
of the sun's piercing rays.

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had shot a wild horse below the mane in the neck. This horse was 136
very beautifully gray dappled over its whole body, except behind
from the back over the buttocks and along the legs which were
flame-coloured, with white, sky blue and reddish brown stripes,
wonderfully beautiful . . . It had small ears like a horse. The
stuffed heads and pieces of skin which the Hottentots sometimes
brought to us belong evidently to another sort, as they have
long ears, though extraordinarily, curiously and beautifully
flame-coloured in white and chestnut brown."

[40a]) Dogs were the only domestic animals kept by the Bushmen. 231
They were generally lean, hungry-looking mongrels, half starved
and savage tempered, but excellent assistants in the chase, for 224
which they were mainly employed.